THE [a copy] 71.

Late King JAMES's

MANIFESTO

ANSWERD

Paragraph by Paragraph.

WHEREIN

The Weakneſs of His *Reaſons* is plainly demonſtrated.

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THE

Late King *JAMES*'s

MANIFESTO *ANSWER'D*, &c.

National Library of Ireland

AT last King *James* despairs of being restored to his former Throne with the free consent of his Subjects; and being sensible that his *most Gracious* Pardon, as well as his Threats, were received with an equal Scorn, he is resolved not to prostitute them any more. He retired into *France* to be *within call*, as he tells us in the Paper he left behind at *Rochester*; but very few desiring his Return, he begins to be impatient, and would fain oblige the Catholick Princes of *Europe* to unite themselves to re-gain his Crowns, and oblige, by the force of their Arms, the *British* Nation to own him for their King. This is the End of the *Manifesto* his Ministers have lately published in *France*, and which has already made so great a noise in *England*. Our Jacobites cry it up mightily; but the sensible Men amongst them would fain stifle it; for tho' the Penman has said as much for the Cause as the nature of the thing could bear; yet the whole is so weak, that 'tis not without reason they believe that this *Manifesto*, like King *James*'s repeated Designs of Invading *England*, will turn to his own prejudice, make him the more odious to *Great Britain*, and more contemptible to the Confederate Princes, whose Protection he now implores.

I have therefore faithfully Translated it, and made some modest Observations thereupon, to shew the notorious Falsities alledged here for undeniable Truths, as well as the weakness of his Arguments.

MANIFESTO.

A Summary Account of the Reasons that should ingage the Confederate Catholick Princes to promote the Restoration of his Majesty of *Great Britain*.

IF the King of Great Britain *has been hitherto silent, and has made no Application to the Confederate Princes, to represent to them the Justice of his Cause, 'tis because his Majesty was unwilling to declare untimely the Truth. He saw that all his Representations, tho' never*

*never ſo juſt, could have no effect upon thoſe whoſe Minds were pre*judiced *in favour of the Prince of* Orange, *and dazzled with the hopes he gave them of a ſpeedy Succeſs againſt* France. *But when time has diſcovered the Vanity of his Projects, and that the Univerſal Miſeries the Chriſtian World lies under, have obliged the Princes to think ſeriouſly of a Peace, and all* Europe *is in expectation of what will produce the Negotiation of a Peace ſo much wiſhed for, then his Majeſty thought that his Duty towards God, himſelf, the Prince his Son, and His People, did oblige Him to repreſent the Juſt Complaints and Reaſons that ought to engage them to promote His Reſtoration.*

ANSWER.

Certainly the Author of this *Manifeſto* muſt have a great ſtock of Confidence, to preſume to impoſe ſo groſly upon the World, and pretend to perſuade them, That the Reaſon here alledged, has hinder'd King *James* from applying himſelf to the Confederate Princes, and that they had been Deluded by His Majeſty. This beginning is a bad Omen for the reſt: But ſince the Author thinks fit to conceal the true Reaſon of the late King's *long ſilence*, we muſt diſcover it in two words; for it is obvious to all Mankind, That as long as he had ſome hopes of being Reſtor'd by the Power of the French King, for whoſe Sake he loſt his Crown, it was not fit he ſhould trouble the Allies: But ſeeing now *France* unable to perform her great Promiſes, and forced to ſue for Peace; and on the other hand, the *Engliſh* more and more averſe to him; he has no Way, no Means, no Remedy left, but this laſt, and therefore he is obliged to implore thoſe Princes, whoſe Friendſhip and Intereſt in his Proſpery he did ſo little Regard.

MANIFESTO.

All the world knows what this Prince, being then Duke of York, *did ſuffer for His Religion. The Engliſh Factions had no ſooner diſcovered he had declared himſelf a* Roman Catholick, *but they began to do their utmoſt to procure His Ruin: And not ſatisfied to have obliged the late King to ſend him in a kind of Baniſhment, firſt, in* Flanders, *and afterwards in* Scotland, *they made an Aſſociation to Exclude Him by an Act of Parliament from the Right which he had, by His Birth, of Succeeding to the Crown; and they had compaſſed their Deſign, had not the King, His Brother, ſtood firmly for the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, which without regard to Religion, call to the Crown the next Heir to it.*

Yet notwithſtanding their Cabal, one may ſay, that never a Prince did Aſcend the Throne of His Anceſtors more peaceably, and with a greater Applauſe than His Majeſty did after the Death of the King His Brother; and in truth, this Prince did Govern His People with ſo much Moderation and Juſtice, that he got the Affection and Eſteem of all Good Men.

ANSWER.

As he Addreſſes himſelf to the Catholick Princes, it was but fit he ſhould begin with his ſuffering for his Religion, as a very ſpecious motive to excite their Commiſeration: But does the Writer of this Paper think that we have forgot *Coleman*'s Intrigues with *Father la Chaiz*, by the Duke of *York*'s Order and Abbrobation, to Deſtroy our Religion, our Laws, nay, without ſtrong ſuſpicion to Dethrone his own Brother. This and many other Conſpiracies, and not his being a *Roman Catholick*, were the occaſion of his being Exil'd; and his private and underhand Cabals with the Popes Cardinals, and *France*, againſt the Intereſt of the Nation, were chiefly inſiſted upon in the preamble of the Bill of *Excluſion*. 'Tis not true, that King *Charles*'s ſtedfaſtneſs was the only thing that hinder'd the Bill of Excluſion from paſſing into an Act. 'Tis notoriouſly known, that the Houſe of Lords rejected the ſaid Bill; but this Writer has not thought fit to mention this, leſt he ſhould fall into a Contradiction; for he has a mind to

to make the the World believe, That King *James*'s pretended Sufferings, have been upon account of his Religion, and this would prove the contrary. But ſuppoſing the Bill had *Paſs'd*, what then? Had not the Engliſh Proteſtants as much Right to Exclude the Duke of *York*, a Papiſt, from the Crown, as the *French* Papiſts had to Exclude *Henry* IV. King of *Navarre*, from the Crown of *France*, becauſe of his being a Proteſtant? Happy ſhould we be, if we did not know by a fatal Experience, how reaſonable the fears of thoſe were who promoted the Bill of Excluſion. 'Tis true, he aſcended the Throne as peaceably as any of his Anceſtors, though he begun his Reign with a notorious Infringement of the Laws, in levying Cuſtoms contrary to an Act of Parliament; and might have Reign'd with as much Glory as any of them; but whoſe fault was it that he loſt the Affection and Eſteem of all the Good Men he boaſts of? He was a Papiſt when he came to the Throne, and yet acknowledged with Applauſe; his Regligion then was not the cauſe of the Defection of his Subjects.

MANIFESTO.

His firſt Step was to pardon all thoſe who had been againſt Him during His Brother's Reign, and had indeavoured to Exclude Him from the Succeſſion of the Crown: And while His Subjects were enjoying the benefit of a profound Peace, with Plenty within, and Trade abroad, He was entertaining a good Correſpondency with all the Princes His Neighbours; which continued to the time of the Revolution.

ANSWER.

Here is an Enumeration of his good Deeds, which is as long as poſſible, though it has but two Lines: But, Who would have thought that King *James* ſhould ever Boaſt of his Clemency? The Bloody Aſſizes in the *Weſt* of *England*, in which ſo many hundred men were Executed, are a great inſtance of his Generous Temper; and doubtleſs, when he Brib'd the Juries to bring every Man in Guilty that was Tri'd, he had no other deſign than to ſhew his Clemency. And as to his Pardon mentioned here, it is as full of Exceptions, and ſo Intricate, that very few got Benefit by it.

MANIFESTO.

Yet the King not being able to diſſemble His Zeal for the Catholick *Religion, but without doing any wrong to the* Proteſtant, *Eſtabliſhed by Law; the Jealouſie of the Cabal began to awake again, and cauſed them to renew their ſecret Correſpondency with the* Prince of Orange, *and ſpread falſe Reports among the people, as if the King had intended to introduce by force the* Catholick *Religion.*

ANSWER.

This Paragraph is ſo falſe, that one can hardly forbear hard Terms: For do they call That doing *no wrong* to the Proteſtant Religion, to Set up a Commiſſion of a certain number of Perſons, whereof one was a Papiſt, to have the Direction of all Eccleſiaſtical Affairs? To turn out Proteſtant Fellows of *Magdalen* College to fill it with Papiſts? To Suſpend the Biſhop of *London* becauſe he would not Suſpend a Divine without hearing his Defence? To ſet up Popiſh Churches, Chappels and Monaſteries? To ſend to Priſon Seven Biſhops at once, for repreſenting with all due Reſpect and Submiſſion, the Reaſons why they could not appoint their Clergy to read in their Churches the Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience? To diſplace the Proteſtants out of all Offices of Truſt and Advantage, to make room for Papiſts? If this is not wronging the Church of *England*, which King *James* ſo ſolemnly Swore to Maintain, I defy any Man to tell me what one muſt do to Wrong another; and it would be as well to tell the World, that Father

Peters

Peters was made a Privy Councellor in order to preſerve the Proteſtant Religion in *England*.

MANIFESTO.

But at laſt, the Birth of the Prince of Wales *did determine the Prince of* Orange, *and the Cabal, to Execute their Deſign againſt His Majeſty; for the groundleſs fear they had for their Religion, was increaſed thereby; and on the other ſide it did remove the Prince of* Orange *from the Crown, to which he had been ſo long Aſpiring. Therefore as ſoon as he was landed in* England, *moſt part of His Majeſty's Subjects did Rebel againſt Him, His Domeſticks, even His Children, forſook and betray'd him: And in the mean while, the Princes his Confederates, againſt the Law of Nations, did ſend away His Miniſters from their Courts, and deale with His Majeſty as with a declared Enemy, without any preceding Declaration, containing the leaſt pretence that could juſtify a proceeding ſo contrary to the Law of Nations, and the Reſpect which Crowned Heads owe reciprocally one to another.*

The King ſo unworthily uſed by His Subjects and Foreigners, even His Life being in a great Danger, the Prince of Orange *keeping him priſoner under a ſtrong Guard, His Majeſty was forced to retire into* France, *as the only remaining Refuge left to him, having ſent over before him, with much Trouble and Danger, the Queen his Conſort, and the Prince his Son, then but ſix months old. If they will enquire into the Cauſe of ſo ſtrange an overthrow of all Laws, both Humane and Divine, no other is to be found but Slanders againſt His Majeſty, which were ſpread abroad and publiſhed, as conſtant Truth, by the Prince of* Orange's *Declaration, and by the Mouth of his Emiſſaries. Theſe were their Accuſations, viz. That His Majeſty had violated the Laws of the Land: That he had ſet up a ſuppoſitious Heir to the Crown: That being a Guarantee of the Peace of* Nimeguen, *he had not performed the Articles of that Guarantee; and at laſt, that he was entered into a ſecret League with* France *againſt the Houſe of* Auſtria, *and the* Dutch.

ANSWER.

I ſhall obſerve but two things in theſe Paragraphs; for I intend to examine, in order, the four Heads of Accuſation therein mentioned; Firſt, It is abſolutely falſe, That the Confederate Princes ſent away King *James*'s Miniſters before he was actually out of *England*; as it is here inſinuated. Secondly, Alſo that the Prince of *Orange* detain'd him Priſoner under a ſtrong Guard; ſince in the Meſſage His Highneſs ſent to him, it was expreſly mention'd, that the King ſhould be attended by his own Guards: And truly he was ſo far from being a cloſe Priſoner at *Rocheſter*, that the Guard was under his Command, and he knows very well, that it was in obedience to his Orders, that he had the facility to go off; and truly no body did care to detain him here againſt his Will: If the Prince of *Orange* had deſigned to make him a Priſoner, he would have put him into the *Tower*, or ſent him to *Breda*, or elſewhere, as he was adviſed.

MANIFESTO.

Theſe are the chief Accuſations that the Prince of Orange *did publiſh againſt His Britanick Majeſty; this has raiſed his own Subjects, and all the Confederate Princes againſt him, and this has brought his Affairs into the poſture they now ſtand in: Yet theſe are ſo notorious Slanders, that I don't believe his own Enemies would give any Credit to them.*

For firſt, the Accuſation grounded upon the pretended Violation of the Laws, is ſo viſibly falſe, that its falſity is demonſtrated by the bare expoſing the matter of Fact. There is no Body in the World, though never ſo little acquainted with the Laws of England, *and the unqueſtionable Rights of the Crown, but knows, That the Kings of* England *are accountable for what they do, to none but God only. This is one of the Fundamental Laws of that Monarchy, which*

which was acknowledged and declared such by the Parliaments. Besides, 'tis false, That His Majesty had done any thing but what was according to the Laws of the Kingdom. All those who understand the Constitution of the Government of England, *know, that in doubtful Cases concerning the Law, it belongs to the Twelve Judges of the Kingdom to decide and declare what is according to Law, and what is not; and that all the Subjects are bound to submit to their Decision, and to receive as Law whatsoever these Judges have declared to be so. All* England *knows, that His Majesty did undertake nothing that had any relation to the Law, but before he did so, he consulted the Judges, and had their Approbation. 'Tis well known also, that whatsoever these Judges did declare to be according to the Law, was really so; for they were liable to Punishment if they had prevaricated: And some of them having been Imprison'd in the beginning of the Revolution, being charged with Prevarication, the Prince of* Orange *being informed, that they had judged but according to the Laws, and having compassed already his Design, which was to stain the Conduct of his Majesty, he caused not one of them to be punished, though it was his Interest to shew by their punishment the truth of that Accusation.*

ANSWER.

How far Kings are accountable for their Actions, I won't presume to Debate; but if they are obliged to observe the Laws, as certainly they are, I would fain know what Remedy is left to a Nation, when their King by the instigation of some wicked Councellors, or his Vicious Inclination, turns a Tyrant: For if he says, as King *James* does, That he is accountable for his Actions only to God, and therefore won't hear them, What must they do? Submit their Necks to the Yoke, will this Gentleman Answer, and wait for God's own time to change their Fate? This may do in *Turkey*, but not in *England*, where by our ancient Constitution, the Subjects have as much Right to their Liberties and Properties, as the King himself to the Crown; these being not the Gift of Princes, as some Flatterers have falsly asserted. Indeed, it may be granted, that the Kings of *England* are not accountable to any Power as a Superior; yet certainly the People, wherein I include all Orders and Degrees, must have a Right to defend their Liberties and Properties, against the insults and encroachments of the Princes; for else all those just Rights signifie nothing, and there would be no difference between a Limited Government and an absolute Monarchy.

But, says this Writer, *His Majesty has done nothing but what was according to the Laws of the Kingdom*; which let us examine. Was the dispensing with the Test and other Laws, which declared the Papists incapable of holding any place of Trust, Civil and Military, according to Law? Can he justify by the same Law, his admitting Father *Peters*, a *Jesuit*, into the Council, and other Papists into places of Trust? His assuming and exercising a Power of suspending the Executions of Laws without consent of Parliament? His Prosecuting the Bishops for humbly Petitioning to be Excused from concurring to the said assumed Power? The Erecting of the Ecclesiastical Court? The levying Money by pretence of Prerogative, otherwise than it was granted by the Parliament? The keeping of a Standing Army in time of Peace, without consent of Parliament, and Quartering Soldiers contrary to Law? His causing several Subjects, being Protestants, to be disarmed, when Papists were both Armed and Employ'd: These and many others Invasions of our Rights, of which I could give expres's Instances, are they justifiable by Law? Yes they are, says this Writer, for it belongs *to the Twelve Judges of* England *to declare in doubtful Cases what is according to Law; and the King has done nothing but with their Advices, and therefore his Actions have been according to Law.* Truly this is so extravagant, that it deserveth no serious Answer, We thought nothing more firmly established than our Rights and Priviledges; but if what King *James*'s Ministers tell us, is true, nothing can be more precarious then our Liberties: For if it lies

lies in the discretion of the Judges to declare what is *Law*; and if we are bound to submit to their directions, perhaps they will have a fancy to Morrow to declare that *Magna Charta*, and all our *Liberties* are contrary to *Law*, as extorted by Force. That the King may dispose of us and our Estates, as he thinks fit; and in short, overturn the whole *English* Constitution, and all the Laws, even in their sence, according to *Law*. 'Tis ridiculous to alledge here doubtful Cases; for the *Laws* King *James* dispenced with, are, I think, some of the plainest of our *Laws*.

The overturning of our whole Constitution was then nearer that one would think; which will appear by considering, that the Judges holding then their Places, *durante bene placito* and not *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, as divers anciently were; the most Learned, Honest, and Conscientious, were turned out for refusing to declare that to be Law which was meerly Arbitrary; and those who were put in their Places, or remained, amongst whom were Three declared Papists, contrary to Law, were men of no Reputation, either for Knowledge of Integrity, having had no other Merit to recommend them to that high Station, than a servile compliance to the Illegal Practices of the Court. No wonder then if their Decitions were so much against the Protestant Religion, and the *Liberties* of the People.

'Tis in vain to say, That the danger of being *Prosecuted* for *Prevarication*, was sufficient to deter them from advising the King contrary to *Law*; for those Judges who declared for the dispensing power, were in hopes that King *James* would continue on the Throne; and instead of fearing any prosecution, they expected great reward from him, according to the Bargan they had made, when they promised to explain the *Laws* as he should think fit: And they had very good reason to beleive so from the great endeavours *King James* made, by Closeting the chief of the Nobility and Gentry, and by tampering with, and over-awing the Gentry, and all inferior Magistrates with th *Loss* of their Offices and Imployments, to chuse such Members for the ensuing Paliament, as should confirm his *Dispensing* Power, and make no inquiry into his other Illegal Practices. I could mention also what was publickly talk'd of, and argued for by his Party, of filling the House of *Peers pro tempore*, chosen out of such of the Gentry as he was sure would comply with his Designs, to over-ballance the number of the *Lords* Spiritual and *Temporal* who who opposed them.

Their Impunity after this Revolution, is no argument of their Innocence, but only of the great, not to say too great, Clemency of the Government, whose Interest, as it is observed here, it was to punish all those notorious Offenders, according to their demerits. *This* is a very weak Argument to support their Cause; and the consequence whereof may prove fatal to some of the late King's Friends. I'll add but one thing more, *That* the *Parliament* being immediately after the Revolution taken up with more weighty Affairs, had not then leisure to inquire into the Conduct of those Offenders, and bring them to Condign punishment; yet they were so far from approving their Illegal proceedings, that they are not pardoned at this day, and stand excepted by *Name* in the Act of indemnity that past in the first Year of *Their Majesties* Reign. I hope this is enough to shew the Weakness of King *James*'s Apology.

I know the Judges can pretend to a power to explain the Laws in some obscure and doubtfull Cases; but I think the Acts of *Parliament* cannot be dispensed with, but by the Authority by which they were made; and this is no doubtful Case, wherein only the Judges have an explanatory power; and this anciently they had not; for whensoever any great doubt or difficulty hapned in any of the King's Courts of *Westminster*, concerning the sense or Interpretation of any *Statute* or *Law*, the usual *Sentence* the Judges then gave in all such Cases, was, *Adjournetur in proximum Parliamentum*; as one may find in *Sir Edward Coke*'s comment on the *Statute* of *Westminster*, 2. 13 *Ed.* 1. 2. *Instit.* p. 408.

408 in theſe words, *Matters of great Difficulty were in antient times uſually adjourned into Parliaments, to be reſolved and decided there*; which he confirms by a Citation of *Bracton*, which being long, I referr the Reader to the Author himſelf. He alſo cites divers other Authorities in the Margin, both Records and Law-Books, to the ſame purpoſe.

From whence we may conclude, That it lies at the King's Door, if no Parliament was call'd to reſolve thoſe Difficulties, who are the beſt Interpreters of their own Statutes, ſince by the antient Laws of *England*, a Parliament was to be held every Year, and then no miſchief could happen by the uncertainty or obſcurity of Law, which might not have been more ſpeedily redreſſed in the Aſſembly, then if the Twelve Judges of *England* were to argue one after another, and give their Opinions in the Caſes put to them. It has been to the Deviation from this Antient Cuſtom, to which the Nation owes all the Illegal and Arbitrary Proceedings, not only of King *James*'s Reign, but of ſome of his Predeceſſors From whence it appears, that the utmoſt the Judges can pretend to, is only a Right of Interpreting Laws when obſcure and doubtful, but not to give Sentence againſt the direct Letter of the Law, as King *James*'s Judges did; which would be in effect to inveſt them with the whole Legiſlative power, which only reſides in the King, and the States of the Kingdom.

MANIFESTO.

The Accuſation which is grounded upon the ſuppoſing of an Heir to the Crown, is ſo black, ſo unworthy, ſo enormous, and ſo contrary to good ſenſe, that it doth ſufficiently appear, that thoſe who have had ſo little Conſcience as to contrive it, have found not the leaſt proof to render doubtful the Birth of the young Prince. For it was Providence, that never Birth was atteſted by more preſent Witneſſes, and more authentick proofs, ſo that the Prince. of O. who had promiſed in his Declaration, that the Truth of the Accuſation ſhould be examined in parliament, never durſt attempt it, even when it was made up only of his Creatures, and th' ſeveral perſons did publickly deſire, that this Affair might be examined according to his Declaration, yet he never durſt propoſe it, though it was his intereſt, for fear of being covered with the Shame and Confuſion that ſo black a Calumny did deſerve.

ANSWER.

This Argument is as ſtrong as the laſt we have Examin'd, and is grounded upon the ſame principles: For King *James* concludes in the firſt, that his Actions were according to Law, only becauſe his Judges were not puniſhed: and here the prince of *Wales* muſt be his Son, ſince the Prince of *Orange* has not thought fit to prove him Suppoſititious. A ſtrange way of Reaſoning: but let us examine it ſomewhat more narrowly.

This Writer advances two things, 1. That the Prince of *Wales*'s Birth was atteſted with ſo many Witneſſes, and Authentick proofs, that there was not the leaſt colour to queſtion the truth of it. The ſecond is, That the Prince of *Orange* had promiſed that the truth of his Accuſation ſhould be Examined in Parliament, which he never durſt attempt for fear of being covered with ſhame. Both theſe Aſſertions are equally falſe; for the Circumſtances of that Birth, are a clear and ſtrong preſumption that there was a Cheat in the Caſe: For if there was none, why were not the Ladies appointed by the Princeſs of *Orange* to be preſent at the Birth, called to the Queen's Labour, as well as others, ſince the two Princeſſes were ſo much concerned in the Succeſſion? This might have cleared the Legitimacy of the Prince of *Wales*; & ſince they were not (though it were the intereſt of the Court) nay ſeeing none of the Proteſtant Lords, Spiritual & Temporal, and Ladies, except very few who were too much devoted to the Court, were called to it, and that none of them, neither Papiſt nor Proteſtant, the Midwife, a Papiſt, ex-

cepted, did depoſe that a Child was born of the Queen's Body, or could ſee it, being within the Bed and Curtains. I appeal to all the World, whether the Prince of *Orange*, and the people of *England*, had not reaſon to ſuſpect foul play, and that an Heir was impoſed upon them. When this *French* King was born, the Duke of *Orleans*, the Princeſs of *Condé*, and others concerned in the Succeſſion, were called to be preſent, and admitted and deſired to ſee every thing, leſt his Legitimacy ſhould be called in queſtion; but here none of thoſe wiſe meaſures and natural precautions were made uſe of. What ſhall we then conclude from thence, but that they either ſuppoſed an Heir, or deſigned to make us believe they did ſo? Who will not admire the Confidence of this Man, to call that Birth an unqueſtionable one, and the like?

The ſecond Aſſertion is no leſs falſe; the Prince of *Orange* did never promiſe that the Truth of his Accuſation ſhould be examined in Parliament; he only declared that he had cauſe to ſuſpect the Legitimacy of the Child, and *would refer the enquiry into it to the Parliament*. But why (ſay they) has not the Parliament made that Enquiry? But I anſwer, Why has King *James* refuſed to own the Parliament for the Judges of that Controverſy, and ſent the Child away, with the Midwife, and other Witneſſes, that could prove the reality of his Birth? Either it was for fear of the diſcovery of the Cheat, though we are told that his Birth was aſſerted by many Eye-Witneſſes, and Authentick Proofs; or elſe for fear of violating a *Fundamental Law*, and *be accountable to his People*. King *James* having thus declined to refer it to any Judges, and afterwards Abdicated the Throne, it matters not a Pin, to the King or Parliament, to inquire into the Legitimacy of the Birth, and whether or no the Titular Prince of *Wales* at St. *Germains*, is the ſame that was ſuppoſed to be born at St. *James's*. The Government ſtands upon another Bottom.

MANIFESTO.

It can't never be made appear, That his Majeſty was Guarrantée *of the Peace of* Nimeguen, *nor the Late King his Brother neither, in whoſe Reign that Peace was concluded, 'Tis true, that in a private Treaty made between the King and the Dutch in* July 1678. *before the Peace of* Nimeguen, *he did promiſe that in caſe the moſt Chriſtian King was not willing to make Peace with them upon reaſonable terms, that he would declare War againſt* France *to force her to it; and that in caſe they did make a General Peace, he did offer himſelf, with the Princes his Neighbours, to be the Guarrantee of the ſame; yet this Treaty did prove of no effect at all: for the Dutch made Peace with* France *at* Nimeguen *in* Auguſt *following, by a ſeparate Treaty, in which the King of* Great Britain *was neither included as a* Gurrantée.

The King of Spain *did the like in* September *in the ſame Year, and the Emperor in* February *enſuing,* 1679. *both by ſeparate Treaties, without any mention of the pretended* Guarrantée *of his* B. M. *ſo that the Ambaſſadors of that Prince were Aſſiſting at the Peace of* Nimeguen, *only as Mediators, and they did not ſo much as ſign it, and conſequently his Majeſty is not obliged to the* Guarrantée *of that Treaty; and if he had been obliged to it, one can neither make appear that he went againſt it, or that he was deſired by the Confederate Princes to ſtand to it.*

ANSWER.

Here is a great many words ſpent to no purpoſe. The Prince of *Orange*, againſt whom this *Manifeſto* is deſigned, did not charge King *James* in his Declaration of any Breach of the Treaty conoluded with the *Dutch*, nor of refuſing to perform the *Guarrantée* of the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, but only the Violations of the Laws of *England*, which he had ſworn to maintain. This Author takes a great deal of pains to ſhew that the Crown of *England* was not obliged to the *Guarrantée* of the ſaid Treaty; but he is very near as unfortunate in this Point, as in thoſe we have examined before; for

for notwithstanding the Separate Treaty the *Dutch* and the Empire made at *Nimeguen*, it is I think, very plain from the Treaty concluded at the *Hague* by Sir *William Temple*, *July* 26. 1678. and here mentioned, that the King of *England* bound himself to stand *Guarrantée* of the Peace. The occasion of this Treaty with the *Dutch* was, becuse the *French* refused to restore to the *Spaniards* the Places agreed by the Treaty, till the *Sweeds* had received Satisfaction from the *Danes*, &c. whereas the *Dutch* and *Spaniards* understood that the *French* should evacuate those Places upon the Ratifications of the peace they had agreed with *France*. King *Charles* found this Pretence of the *French* very unjust; and the Duke of *York*, says Sir *William Temple*, said in a great warmth, That it was plain by this proceeding, that *France* was not sincere in the Business of the Peace, that they aimed at the universal Monarchy, and that none could hinder them from it but his Majesty. sir *William Temple* was immediately dispatched for *Holland*, and concluded the said Treaty, *July* 26 1678, whereby *France* was obliged to declare within Fourteen days after the Date thereof, that they would evacuate the *Spanish* Towns; or in case of their Refusal *Holland* was ingaged to go on with the War, and *England* immediately to declare it against *France*, in Conjunction with the Allies.

But, say they, this Treaty signifies nothing, for the *French* declared they would evacuate the Towns before the expiration of the day prescribed, and the *Dutch* made a Separate Peace with *France*, in which the King of *England* was not mentioned as a *Guarrantée*. I answer, That notwithstanding this Separate Treaty, the Crown of *England* was bound to the *Guarrantée* of the Peace; and to prove it, 'tis enough to quote the Fifth Article of the said Treaty.

But if the Peace, which is now negotiating between the most Christian King on the one part, and his Catholick Majesty and the States General on the other, comes to a happy Conclusion, either by the Proposals France *his made, or upon other Conditions, that may be agreed upon, his Majesty of* Great Britain *and the States, shall not only be the* Guarrantées *of it in the best and safest Form; but also all other Kings and Neighbouring Princes, who have any Interest to procure the repose of Christendom, and the Tranquility of the* Netherlands. *And to that end his Majesty and the States will* agree *about the Forces and other Means which shall be thought necessary to oblige the Party who shall violate the Peace to indemnify the other of the Damages and Losses by him sustained.*

I think the case is plain enough, notwithstanding what this Gentleman says, That the Crown of *England* was obliged to the Guarrantee of the Peace; but as I have said before, This was none of the Grievances of the Prince of *Orange*, and of the Nation. And since King *James* Addresses his Manifesto to the Emperor, who in his Answer from *Vienna*, *April* 9. 1689. charges him with being a Guarrantee of the Peace of *Nimeguen*, and of having refused to perform what he was obliged to, let King *James* tell him, if he will, that he was mistaken, and not accuse the Prince of *Orange* of having raised that Report against him.

I am not surprized that those who think that Princes may Dispense with the most Sacred Laws, can Dispense with Truth; for else, I should wonder very much at the Confidence of King *James*'s Minister, who says, that supposing he was bound to the Guarrantee of the said Peace, he never did any thing against it, nor was desired to stand to it, but to cover him with the shame so false an assertion deserveth, let us hear what the Emperor says in the Letters to King *James*, I have already mentioned. *If your Majesty*, says he, *had rather given credit to the Friendly Remonstrances that were made unto you by our late Envoy* he Count de Caunitz *in our Name, than the deceitful insinuations of the French, whose chief aim was, by fomenting Divisions between you and your people, to gain*

thereby an opportunity to inſult the more ſecurely over the reſt of Chriſtendom; and if your Majeſty had put a ſtop by your Force and Authority to their many Infractions of the Peace, of which by the Treaty of Nimeghen *you are made the Guarrantee; and to that end entred into Conjunctions with us, and ſuch others, who have the like juſt ſentiments of this matter, we are perſwaded that*, &c. I think nothing can be plainer, than that King *James* was ſollicited to oppoſe himſelf to the Infractions of the *French*, and this is ſo true, that this Writer will own preſently, what he ſo confidently denies in this Paragraph.

MANIFESTO.

'Tis true alſo, that the late King of England *made a Defenſive League with the* States-General, *which was ratified by his Majeſty upon his coming to the Crown, but he never did any thing againſt it; but the States inſtead of aſſiſting him as they were obliged, they ſupplyed the Prince of* Orange *their Subject, with Ships and Forces to attack him in his own Kingdom; and when his Majeſties Miniſter at the* Hague, *did enquire what end thoſe preparations were deſigned for, they did aſſure him that they would never act againſt his Majeſties Intereſt, and that they were reſolved inviolably to maintain the Friendſhip and the good Correſpondency they had with him; which was afterwards confirmed to him by Monſieur* van Citters *their Ambaſſadour to his Majeſty. And the Prince of* Orange *had ſo little pretence for his Enterprize, that he continued to write exactly to his Majeſty in moſt reſpectful terms, till all things were ready for the execution of his Deſign.*

ANSWER.

Here is indeed a great complaint againſt the States, King *James* refuſes to joyn with the Emperor and them againſt *France*, though he was obliged to it, and this is nothing at all; and the States lend their Forces to the Prince of *Orange* to go over into *England* to have Juſtice done to him, and this is a great Crime, though they were obliged to it, both by their Gratitude, and their own Intereſt. But who ſhall not blame them for having refuſed to tell the Marqueſs *d' Albiville*, that their Preparations were againſt *England*; and who will not cenſure the Prince of *Orange*, for having not acquainted King *James* that he deſigned to Land at *Torbay*? This is ſo ridiculous that it deſerveth no Anſwer. If the Prince of *Orange* was injured in *England*, as certainly he was, and reſolved to go into that Kingdom, to refer his Complaints to a Free Parliament, could the States deny him a Body of their Troops for the ſecurity of his Perſon. This would have been a very unkind return for the preſervation of their Country, which they owe to his Conduct and Courage.

MANIFESTO.

Laſtly, *The pretended ſecret League with* France, *which the Prince of* Orange's *Party would alſo have examined in Parliament, was another Chimera, and ſo viſible a Fiction, that the only Teſtimony of the Earl of* Sunderland *ſuffices to ſhew that it is a meer Contrivance. He was then the firſt Miniſter of State, and in the utmoſt Confidence of his Majeſty, and even when againſt his Duty to God and his King, he was ſeeking all means to ſerve the Prince of* Orange; *yet in his Letter Printed in* 1689, *he could not deny his Teſtimony to the Truth. I proteſt, ſays he, I never knew any League made between the two Kings: and this afterward manifeſtly appeared to be ſo.*

All the World knows, that before the Invaſion of the Prince of Orange, *the moſt Chriſtian King did offer to his Majeſty a conſiderable ſuccour of Ships and Forces; but by a precaution which deſerved a better uſage from the Confederates, than he has received from them, he had rather to be deprived of that Succour, though never ſo neceſſary to him, and expoſe his Royal Perſon, as it happned a little while after, than to give to his people, or any Prince, the leaſt ſuſpicion of a League with* France.

ANSWER.

Strange! the Prince of *Orange* muſt be charged with every thing, right or wrong: King

King *James* is accuſed to have made a private League with the French, but where did his Highneſs promiſe that it ſhould be examined in Parliament? There is not a word of it in his Declaration, where then is that Promiſe to be found? Taking then for granted that they cannot prove what they ſay, I come to examine the thing it ſelf.

The League between King *James* and *France* muſt be a Chimera, Why? becauſe the Earl of *Sunderland* tells us that he never heard of any? This Gentleman muſt be altogether unacquainted with the Rules of Logick, and good Senſe, or have a very bad Opinion of the World, to pretend to impoſe upon them at this rate: For if that Noble Lord ſhould affirm that there was no ſuch League, and that there could be none, his Teſtimony might have a great Weight, but he is ſo far from it, that it ſeems, he does believe it himſelf, or at leaſt that ſuch a thing was very poſſible. *I never knew of any (League)* ſays he, *and if there were ſuch a thing, it was carried on by other ſort of Miniſt Summer*; which implys, that he was not truſted with all the Negociations with *France*, and truly the Party began to ſuſpect him, and though he continued Principal Secretary of State, Father *Peters* and Monſieur *Barillon* were at leaſt as intimate with King *James*, as he. The refuſal King *James* made of the French Succour, is no Argument of his precaution to avoid giving the Allies any ſuſpicion of a private League, he had given them cauſe enough to ſuſpect it, as he owns in the next Paragraph. The truth is, that my Lord *Sunderland* and ſome others oppoſed the accepting of the ſaid Succours, and that King *James* concurred with them, becauſe he thought to ſtand in no need of them.

But I would fain know what Count *d'Avaux* meant in his Memorial to the States, *October* 30. 1688 By certain *Bonds and Obligations* of Friendſhip, and *Alliances* between his *Maſter and the King of* Great Britain, *which*, ſays he, *will oblige him no. only to aſſiſt him, but alſo to look on the firſt act of Hoſtility that ſhall be committed by your Troops or your Fleet againſt his Majeſty of* Great Britain, *as a manifeſt Rupture of the Peace, and a Breach with his Crown.* This is very poſitive, and though we are not able to ſhew a Copy of that League, yet there is no Man of ſenſe but will agree, that this Memorial which was concerted with King *James*'s Miniſters, does neceſſarily imply; that there was a private Alliance between theſe two Princes, for the publick Treaties between the two Crowns are not ſo *Obligatory*, and it is impoſſible they ſhould have provided againſt the particular Occaſion here mentioned.

MANIFESTO.

It's true, that for all the preſſing and powerful Inſtances that were made uſe of with his Majeſty, by the Miniſters of the Confederate Princes, to engage him in a League againſt France, *he thought that beſides the nearneſs of the Blood which united him ſo ſtrictly to the moſt Chriſtian King, he could not in honour break with a Prince, againſt whom he had no juſt Complaints to make. His Obligations beſides to the good and eaſe of his people did not permit he ſhould expoſe them to a War, which as he did foreſee was to be of fatal Conſequence for the Chriſtian World; and his ſtedfaſtneſs in not yielding to the Inſtances for to enter into that League gave ſhrew'd Suſpicions to the Confederate Princes, and made him entertain an ill Opinion of his Majeſty, and thereby were more apt to believe, he had actually made a ſecret League with* France, *which we have made appear to be manifeſtly falſe.*

ANSWER.

I could mention here a Letter of a Jeſuit which we intercepted, and whereby it appears that there was ſuch a League, but I don't think fit to inſiſt upon it, what I have ſaid being ſufficient. I agree with this Gentleman, that King *James*'s refuſing to joyn with the Confederats againſt the Uſurpation of *France*, increaſed the Suſpicion they had of that Private League; for what elſe could they beleive, ſeeing King *James* in the intreſt of *France*, though he was ingaged by his Honour, Conſcience, and Intereſt to declare againſt that Ambitious Crown? The preſent Eaſe of his People

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was a pitiful Reaſon; for if he had loved his Subjects as it was his Duty, he would have oppoſed the growing Power of *France*, which, as he could eaſily foreſee, was to be ſo fatal to *England* and the reſt of *Europe*. The Reader muſt obſerve here, that it was denied, but a few Lines before, that King *James* was ever deſired to perform his *Guarantée* of the Peace of *Nimeguen*; and here 'tis owned, that the Allies made him preſſing Inſtances to enter into a League againſt *France*.

MANIFESTO.

It's then of the greateſt evidence, that all thoſe Accuſations ſpread out againſt his Majeſty, as well amongſt his own Subjects as Foreign Princes, are falſe, and acknowledged at preſent for ſuch by all Men of ſence. However, it was but upon thoſe very Accuſations that they made his own Subjects, and all the Confederate Princes, riſe againſt him, and that he has been reduced at laſt with his Royal Family, to the Conditinn he has been in for theſe Eight years paſt.

ANSWER.

Notwithſtanding the Confidence of the Penman of this *Manifeſto*, we dare leave it to the Reader to judge of the weakneſs of the Reaſons he has made uſe of to juſtifie the Conduct of the late King; for inſtead of his *Declamation*, I have brought Matter of Fact to juſtifie that he has violated the Laws of the Kingdom; and that the Birth of the pretended Prince of *Wales* was attended with ſo many unlucky Circumſtances, as to make it very doubtful; and therefore that the Nation had reaſon to invite the Prince of *Orange* tocome over to procure a Free Parliament, for redreſſing thoſe great Grievances, which all their humble petitions had not been able to obtain; and what was more reaſonable than that his Highneſs did, to refer his Concerns to the Deciſion of that Parliament? This is not uſual with Soveraign Princes. And on the other hand, what can be more unreaſonable than King *James*'s proceeding to have denied that Satisfaction, nay that Right to his Subjects. The Guarantee and thſ private League are, I hope, alſo fully proved.

MANIFESTO.

Ought not theſe Accuſations to have been of another nature, and quite otherwiſe proved, for to engage Princes who have always ſhew'd themſelves ſo zealus for Religion and Juſtice, as the Emperour and the King of Spain to joyn with an Heretick Uſurper in an Action the moſt enormous in the World, which was to dethrone a lawful King a Catholick, his own Uncle and Father-in-law.

ANSWER.

Here is a great Accuſation againſt the Catholick Princes, who are charged to have joyned with the Prince of *Orange* for dethroning the late King. I leave it to them to anſwer as they ſhall think fit; in the mean time, we may ſay that his Highneſs had neither *Imperial* nor *Spaniſh* Troops with him, tho' I own, that if the Emperor, the King, and other Princes were acquanted with the Grievances of the *Engliſh* Nation, and of the particular Concerns of the Prince, I don't queſtion but they approved his Deſign to come over, and had given him Aſſiſtance, if he had ſtood in need of it; for how could they have refuſed it to the Juſtice of his Cauſe, and to a Prince who had ſo juſtly deſerved their eſteem, and had been ſo true to the General Intereſt of *Europe*? Their *Catholicity* ſignifies nothing in this Caſe; for the difference of Religion does not Authorize Men to deny the Offices of Juſtice and Friendſhip, which they owe reſpectively one to another.

MANIFESTO.

All that can be imagin'd to excuſe an Engagement ſo viſibly unjuſt, does amount to no more than to ſay, 1°. That thoſe Princes were deceived at firſt by the falſe Reports their own Miniſter made them: And 2°. That their Intention was then only to bring England *into a League againſt*

against France, *without examining the Means the Prince of* Orange *would make use of to compass it. We must do them the justice to believe, that had they been well inform'd of the Prince of* Orange's *Intentions and Designs against the Sacred Person and Crown of His Majesty, they would never have had any hand in it. That's so certain, that the* Dutch *themselves, for all that they are so declared Enemies of Monarchy, by the Constitution of their Government, did lend their Troops to the Prince of* Orange, *but with this Declaration, which is in their Memorial delivered in* October 1688. *of which Copies were given by their Order to all Foreign Ministers then at the* Hague, *except those of his most Christian Majesty, and his Britannick Majesty, who had none given them; that it were with the Condition he should not dethrone the King, nor alter the Line of Succession; which one has more ground to believe of Princes whose States are Monarchical and Hereditary.*

For in fine, the Common Cause of all Princes is concern'd in this, since there is none that may be safe, if as soon as some Factious People, encouraged by an Ambitious Person, who has a mind to Reign, do fancy to have Grounds to complain of their Sovereign, the neighbouring Princes may in Conscience or Honour back the Designs of that Ambitious Person, and help him to invade their Dominions, 'tis visible such Actings would but authorize the Spirit of Rebellion in all States, and serve as an Apology for the Conduct of Male-contents, who by those means would presume to call their Soverigns to an account, and dispose of Crowns according to their fancy, which would be attended by the overthrowing of all Governments.

But if afterwards, for colouring such an Attempt, some Factious People had a mind to make use of the Necessity they should have reduced their Sovereign to save his Life, by Retiring into some safe place, as of a just Subject to divest him of his State, and take the Crown from him, in traducing his forced Retreat into an Abdication or Formal Renunciation of his Right; the Cabal being justified by such a proceeding, it would serve without doubt for convincing all rational Men of the Injustice of their Attempt. This is however precisely the inhuman way the Prince of Orange *and his Friends have taken in acting against his Britannick Majesty, they raised his people against him by some false Reports and perfidious Calumnies; they enter'd his Dominions with Sword in hand; they forced him to save his Life to retire into* France, *from whence he went soon after into* Ireland; *and afterwards by a manifest Contradiction, they stiled his forced Retreat an Abdication and formal Renunciation to the Crown, which upon that ridiculous pretence they declared vacant, in order to give it to the Prince of* Orange. *There is no Man of sense but sees that this is ridiculing all Soveraigns, and adding a scornful provocation to the most enormous Injustice that can be done.*

There are Reasons to believe that all Princes will be moved to a just Indignation for so Criminal an Attempt, which in his Majesty's Person affronts all Sovereigns; and there is cause to expect from the Confederate Princes, when at present they begin to be sensible of the falsity of all the Accusations by which they had been surprized and prejudiced against his Majesty, and when all Europe *has its Eyes upon the Conduct, just or unjust, they are going to take by their Ministers in the Negotiation of a General Peace, that they will take into Consideration what they owe to their own Safety, their Honour, Conscience, and the good of the Catholick Religion, in contributing what they can to the Restoration of his Majesty.*

ANSWER.

The Catholick Princes have no need of this Apology: Their Actions and Conduct in this Case have been so just, that they are proof against the Malice of such Calumniators as the Writer of this *Manifesto* is. They were neither deceived nor joyned with the Prince of *Orange* for dethroning King *James*, for his Highness had no such design. The Prince refuted that Calumny in his Additional Declaration, with such Arguments, that I wonder people have the face to talk of it any more. The *Memorial* mentioned here, is a product of his Brains; for who ever heard that the States-General gave Memorials to Ambassadors? And I deny that the Resolution, or Declaration

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of the *States* upon that ſubject, has any ſuch Expreſſions. This is a downright lye, and ſo impudent, that I am obliged to make uſe of this word for want of a ſofter one. But do theſe people think to have the priviledge to invent ſtories, and out face the World with them, without being treated as they deſerve? The *States* ſpoke as the Prince had ſpoken in his *Declaration*; and there was no ſuch Condition required of him when they ſent him their Forces.

How comes it about then, ſay they, that King *James* loſt his Crown? The Anſwer is very eaſie, and 'tis enough to give in few words an Account of the Revolution. The Prince of *Orange* being landed in *England*, ſeveral Lords roſe in the North, and declared for a free Parliament; the people in general demanded the like; and ſeveral Lords, ſpiritual and Temporal, made an humble Addreſs to the King to deſire the ſame thing. Though nothing could be more juſt and neceſſary than their demand, yet ſo prevailing upon that Prince was the Advice of his wicked Councellors, who fear'd a free Parliament, as death, being conſcious of their Crimes, that he would never comply with the deſires of his people, but would hazard his Crown to the uncertain Events of the War. He had not however the Courage to fight, though he had a very good Army, and the *Neceſſity* of his Affairs obliged him then to call a Parliament, which he had refuſed before, and ſent Commiſſioners to treat with the Prince to adjuſt all *Neceſſary* Matters till the Sitting of the Parliament. The propoſals of the Prince were very reaſonable; and he ſaid himſelf, that *they were fairer than he did or could expect*. However his Wife and his Jeſuits prevailed upon him to retire into *France*; which accordingly he did, leaving the *Nation* in the utmoſt Confuſion without any Government. If this is not a voluntary Abdication, I don't know what may be called ſo, for nothing obliged him to retire; he had ſtill a great Army under his Command, which was ſufficient to preſerve his perſon, if his Enemies had any deſign againſt him. But truly he was miſtaken in his politicks, and expected to return with French Forces to reduce *England*, and to be free for ever from a Parliament. What could the *Nation* do in this caſe, but to addreſs the Prince of *Orange*, whom they had invited to their Aſſiſtance, to take the Government upon him, till the *States* could meet, who ſeeing no body upon the Throne, and that King *James* had left no body to Govern in his abſenſe, took his withdrawing himſelf, and his Violation of the Laws, for an Abdication; concluding thence that the Throne was vacant, and offered the Crown to the Prince and *Princeſs* of *Orange*, who having accepted the offer, were accordingly proclaimed King and Queen of *England*.

This proceeding has nothing ſurpriſing in it ſelf, and the Inconveniences herein mentioned fall only upon Tyrants, who being not ſatisfied with the power the Laws give them, think they are not bound to the Obſervation of their Oath, and that they cannot be Kings, unleſs they have as abſolute a power over their *Subjects*, as the Grand *Seignior* has in *Turkey*. None of the Catholick *Princes* in the League againſt *France*, are in danger of being dethroned, for I hope none of them aim at a greater power, than the *Laws* of their reſpective *Dominions* give them.

If King *James* has no better Arguments to oblige the Catholick *Princes* to intercede for him, there is no likelyhood of their being moved to any Commiſeration towards him, but rather with a juſt Indignation for the Affronts his Miniſters put upon them, in charging them with having joyned with the *Prince of Orange* to deprive him of his Crown.

But methinks this Writer is mightily miſtaken in this point, as well as in all others; for one would think by this *Diſcourſe*, he fancies that the Miniſters of the *Princes* of *Europe* are to meet chiefly to confirm the choice of the *States* of *England*; and that their Approbation is abſolutely neceſſary. We have a great reſpect for our Allies, but they known how far they are to concern themſelves in our Affairs.

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MANIFESTO.

'Tis well known that some say, That Religion is not concerned in this Restauration: and that the Catholicks could not be more peaceably under their Lawful King, then they are since the Invasion of the Prince of Orange. *Thus we can't hear without Amazement; and we can't give a better Answer to this false-prejudice in that particular, than to bring Matters of Fact which are publickly known, and without dispute.*

For besides that, if his Majesty had been willing to put the Prince of Wales *into the hands of the Arch-Bishop of* Canterbury, *to bring him up in the Protestant* Religion, *the Prince of* Orange *had never durst set Foot into* England; *by which it doth manifestly appear, that the cause of his Majesty, is the cause of* Religion.

ANSWER.

The Liberty the Catholicks of *England* enjoy under this King is such, that certainly they could not be more peaceable under King *James*. This truth is so well known, that we cannot but wonder at the great Surprise of the Court at St. *Germain* upon that account; and more still, that this Writer should attemp to prove that his Majesty is a Persecutor. But least people should forget that King *James*'s Cause is the Cause of the Catholik Religion, he must advance here a notorious Imposture, saying, That *if King* James *had been willing to put the Prince of* Wales *into the Arch-Bishop of* Canterbury's *hands to bring him up in the Protestant Religion, the prince of* Orange *had never durst set his Foot into* England. Pray what proof has he for this? Did the Prince declare any such thing? Or who gave any such assurance to King *James*? Truly, if the Prince of *Orange* and the Nation had been satisfied that the pretended Prince was born of the Queen, if he had been committed to the care of the Arch Bishop; and if the other Grievances mentioned in the Prince's Declaration had been redressed; or rather, if there had beenno Invasions and Encroachments made upon our Laws and Liberties, we may boldly say, That his Highness would never have been invited to come over, nor he thought on such an Expedition; for then there had been no necessity for it, and no body being wrong'd, all Pretences of Complaints and Murmurs had been removed, Thus far we agree with him. I come now to the Arguments

MANIFESTO.

And if we do but examine the Declaration of the Prince of Orange, *and his Conduct towards the Catholicks since he has Invaded the Kingdom, we shall know his true Intentions concerning Religion.*

It doth appear by his Declaration, and what his Hugonots *Emmissaries have Published, that the first and chiefe Motive of his Enterprise, was to deliver these three Kingdoms from the Popish Yoak, and restablish the* Protestant Religion: *And that he might perform what he had promised, he had no sooner seized upon the* Crown, *but he had did, what a Persecutor in* England *could never do before him. He changed the* Fundamental *Laws of the Monarchy, out of hatred to the Catholick* Religon; *by passing an Act in his pretended Parliament to exclude for ever from the Succession of the Crown, not only the Catholicks themselves, but also those Persons who should Marry Catholichs; though the* Right *their Birth gave them to the Crown was never so good; dispensing in that case the People with the Oath of Allegiance, and substituting the Crown only to the* Protestents.

Besides, by an Act of the same Parliamet he has granted liberty of Conscience to all Dissenters, to the exclusion of the Catholicks only.

ANSWER.

Indeed this Gentleman has a very nice Palate; the Rights of our Church, established by the Laws of the Land, had been invaded by the Papists, and he is offended that the

Prince of *Orange* ſhould ſay in his Declaration, that the chief motive of his undertaking was to free the three Kingdoms from the Popiſh Yoak, and eſtabliſh ad maintain the Proteſtant Religion. What an extravagant thing is this! We grant the World was not made for proteſtants alone, but they have as much Right to defend that part that falls to their ſhare, as papiſts have to defend theirs; and therefore if in *France*, *Germany*, *Spain*, &c. the *Roman* Catholicks have had any right to declare, and make a Law that no Proteſtant Prince ſhall reign over them, I think no body can deny, that the *Engliſh* Nation, which profeſſes the Proteſtant Religion, has as much Right to exclude all Popiſh Princes from this Crown. The trouble and danger they have been in under the late King *James* has made them wiſe, and 'tis to his miſmanagement that we owe the good Law ſo much blamed at *St. Germain*, which ſecures our Nation from falling any more into the dangers we have been delivered from. but after all, the ſecuring of our Religion can never imply the deſtruction of another.

Many fatall experiences having convinced us, that the Marriage of our Kings with Popiſh Princeſſes is dangerous to our ſafety, who can blame us for making a Law to prevent it for the future?

'Tis true, that the King has given the Royal Aſſent to an Act for granting the Liberty of Conſcience to the Diſſenters; but this, no more than the reſt, proves him a Perſecutor, unleſs they ſhew that he has cauſed ſome new Laws to be enacted againſt the Papiſts.

MANIFESTO.

Then let them judge by this, of the Prince of Orange's *Intentions for the Catholick Religion; and let them no more tell us, to ſhew his moderation towards the Catholicks, that none ſuffer'd Death meerly for Religion. 'Tis well known that this moderation, ſuch as it is, had no other grounds, but the fear he was in to alarm the Confederate Catholick Princes. For though he has uſed the Catholicks in* England *with more moderation, becauſe of the preſence of the Ambaſſadors of the Catholick Princes, yet 'tis matter Fact, that as many Prieſts as his Miniſters and Officers could diſcover in* Scotland, *they did put them in Priſon for four or five years together, meerly becauſe they were Prieſts; and then they have Tranſported them out of their Country, forbidding them, under pain of Death, to return. Many of them are dead by the hardſhips of their Priſon or Baniſhment, and by theſe means, the* Scots *Catholicks are deprived of the Exerciſe of their Religion.*

ANSWER.

'Tis not to the preſence of the Ambaſſadors of the Catholick Princes, that the Papiſts of *England* owe the peace they enjoy; 'tis to the King's own natural Inclination, who is oppoſite to all Perſecutions. Whoſoever will read the Letter of the Great Penſionary *Fagel*, will find that their Highneſſes conſented that the Papiſts of *England* ſhould have the ſame Liberty they have in *Holland*; and this is no ſign of a Perſecuting Inclination. When his Majeſty accepted the Crown of *Scotland*, and took the Oath, it was this expreſs reſervation, that by a Clauſe therein contained for rooting out Hereticks, he did not mean *to be under any obligation to become a Perſecutor.* Therefore if any Prieſt have been baniſhed out of *Scotland*, it is not upon account only of their Religion, but for their ill practices againſt the Government.

The many Conſpiracies diſcover'd in *England* againſt His Majeſty's Perſon, carried on by Papiſts, had been a fair pretence for Perſecution, if the King had been of that Temper, but his Moderation has been ſo great, that a *Roman* Catholick very well known both in *England* and *France*, has been oblig'd by the force of this Truth, to publiſh in a Book of his, *that were it not for the King's Lenity and Moderation*, there would not be at this day one Papiſt in *England*.

M. A-

MANIFESTO.

And tho' Ireland *be under the same Government with the other two Kingdoms, yet it was always look'd upon as Catholick in it self, and for this reason there was a succession of Orthodox Bishops without interruption, and under their lawful Kings the* Irish *never were troubled for the sake of their Religion; but the Prince of* O. *has there introduced two new Laws. By the first, which is called the Test, no person can be chosen a Member of Parliament, nor enjoy any other Employment, without renouncing expresly the Catholick Faith. The other forbids them under forfeiture of their State, to send their Children to be brought up in foreign Countries, so that having no Colledges in their Country, they will want Priests in a short time, and the whole Nation will be reduced to a gross ignorance, which manifestly tends to the extirpating the Catholick Religion out of that Country.*

If this be his Moderation, even when he is forced to keep within bounds, for the sake of the Confederate Catholick Princes, what might the Catholicks reasonably expect from him, if he was by a Treaty of Peace confirmed in his usurpation, and in liberty of taking off the Mask, and act according to his true inclinations; what could poor Catholicks expect from him, but to see themselves reduced to renounce their Religion, or to be exposed to the severity of the Penal Laws.

ANSWER.

'Tis true, the two Laws mentioned in this Paragraph have been enacted in *Ireland*, but is this destroying of their Religion? I am sure the first does not affect it, for it does not deprive them from such Bishops they had before, for ever since the Reformation they were always Titular, but the *Irish* being so prone to Rebellion, this Law was made for the publick security. The second Law seems more contrary to them, but have they not Priests enough of their own, without sending their Children abroad? and are they not sufficient to teach them without publick Schools, and Colledges

The Author being sensible of the weakness of his pretended proofs, is reduced to Prophecies, and pretends to foretell what the King will do *after he is confirmed in* the possession of the *English* Throne, but I scorn to answer him, for he has no Character of Inspiration. The late King *James*, tho' a Papist, never did any good to the *Roman* Catholicks, except Jesuits and Monks, but has occasioned the death of above 100000 persons of his own Religion. and the ruine of a great many more. I would fain know whether he reflects upon that, for I believe this would be a fit Subject for a Meditation at *La Trape*.

MANIFESTO.

But the chief reason which engage the Confederate Princes to maintain the Prince of Orange *it as they say, because he is irreconcilable with* France, *and therefore they will be always sure of him, and consequently he must be maintained at any rate. Must then hatred against* France *prevail against most essential Duties of Justice and Religion, and must the Innocent be sacrificed, and the Crime countenanced, to be revenged of an Enemy? Such a Policy so directly opposite to all the Rules of the Gospel, is it agreeable to the piety which was always professed by the House of* Austria, *and can it be imagined that God will bless such designs?*

ANSWER.

Doubtless 'tis the advantage of *Europe* that the Throne of *England* be possessed by His Majesty, not that he is irreconcilable with *France*, as it is asserted, but because he knows the true Interest of Christendom, and how necessary it is to reduce the power of that ambitious Crown into its just bounds. 'Tis near thirty years ago that Politicians foresaw, that *Europe* would be a Slave to *France*, unless *England* broke its Fetters: the rapid Conquests of *Lewis* the 14th made those fears very probable, yet *England* lay asleep all that while, and when King *James* came to the Throne, and had refused to joyn with the Allies, 'tis certain that things were come to that extremity

that the late happy Revolution alone could deliver *Great Brittain*, and ſtop the Progreſs of the *French*, who in conjunction with the *Turks*, flatter'd themſelves with the eaſy Conqueſts of *Europe*. But what will this Writer have the Catholick Princes do in this juncture? to make a War againſt the Proteſtants for King *James*'s ſake? But what demand is this: The late King may remember, that notwithſtanding the preſſing inſtances made unto him ſome years ago by the Allies to enter into a league, he would not comply with them, being ſo near related to to the *French* King, and under pretence of the eaſe of his people, now can he think that they have forgot it, and that they will expoſe their States to the danger of a fatal War? This hope cannot proceed but from a ſelf-conceited opinion, that makes us fancy that we owe no good offices to others, and that they owe all to us.

Eſop, is now much in faſhion, and the Confidence of the Author of this Manifeſto, obliges me to mention the *Aſs* of the Fable, who being in a Meadow, would never ſtop, that a Dog his Fellow traveller might take ſome bread which he wanted; and notwithſtanding that barbarous uſage, implored the help of the injured Dog, immediately after, againſt a Wolf who ſeized him.

MANIFESTO.

But what have the Confederates ſo much to fear from France? *if they would lay aſide but for a moment, their falſe prejudices, they might plainly ſee, that the conduct of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty in this juncture, is a demonſtration, that he doth not only wiſh for Peace, but alſo that he intends to obſerve it Religiouſly and faithfully.*

For to make ſo advantagious propoſals, in a time that his Enemies can't deny, that he is in a much better poſture to continue the War, than they are themſelves, ſince beſides the Peace with Savoy, *and the Neutrality of* Italy, *which makes him Superior to them, he wants nothing, while* England *and* Holland *are exhauſted. To make, I ſay, ſuch propoſals, in ſuch a juncture, muſt proceed from a ſincere deſire of Peace, and a firm reſolution to maintain it: And if his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had the leaſt thoughts to break off afterwards with the Confederates would not it be a great imprudence to ſtrengthen them before hand with ſo many ſtrong places, which he propoſeth to render to them, when he is more able to continue an advantageous War.*

'Tis plain to all men that will conſider things without prejudice, that the deſigns of his Moſt Chriſtian M. is to take away from his Enemies all juſt Reaſons to complain for the future, in granting them all that they could reaſonably wiſh for, and ſo eſtabliſh a ſolid and laſting Peace, therefore no reaſons oblige the Confederates to ſtand for the intereſt of the Prince of O. upon the Uſurper, that he is an Enemy to France, *on the contrary the Confederates being joyned with that account will allarm* France, *and render it jealous at all times. And 'tis certain, that there will never be a ſolid Peace, nor a good coreſpondency among the Chriſtian Princes, ſo long as they will countenance a reſtleſs Spirit, who owes his grandeur to the ruine of all Laws both Divine and Human, and has ſtirred up a War, which he is forced for his own Intereſt.*

ANSWER.

This Manifeſto being written in *France*, it was but fit to make a great Compliment to the *French* K., but this writer is not come to that degree of Eloquence, as to perſwade the Allies of the *French* King's Sincerity. He has too often violated his word to begin now to be true to it. They are not neither to be ſcared by the advantageous repreſentations he makes of the *French* King's Forces: we know what they are, and this is certain, that that proud Monarch is forced to ſue for Peace. If his offers tend only to diſunite the Allies, we ſhall know it before it be long, and tho *England* and *Halland* are here repreſented as exhauſted, they will appear as formidable as ever. If the Conditions of Peace are Honourable and Advantagious, the King will not oppoſe it, for as it is falſe that he owes his Grandeur to the Ruine of Divine and Human Laws, ſo it is falſe and impertinent to ſay that it is his Intereſt to continue the War; and when the

Peace

Peace is made, He will be better able to preserve it than the late King, who had neither Valour nor Genius enough to be feared or esteemed by the other Princes.

MANIFESTO.

The Confederates must consider, That there is more likelihood, that the Peace *of* Europe *will be justly ballanced by a Lawful King, who is inclined to maintain it, than by an Usurper, who will always disturb it, according to his own Interest. Let us compare their Life and Conduct. On one side we shall see an Integrity, Fidelity and a tenderness of Conscience worthy of a Prince, whose Life was alway full of Troubles and Misfortune, yet he had this Advantage, that he did always suffer for Justice and Religions sake. On the other we shall see an* Ambitious, *who has always Sacrificed Honour and Conscience to obtain his end.*

ANSWER.

One would think that King *James* ought to know himself better, and not suffer his Ministers to demand a Parallel, which is to turn so much to his disadvantage; I will not undertake that comparison, but the esteem all the Princes of *Europ* have for his Majesty, whom they intimately know, is an undeniable Argument of his merit; his Youth, as well as that of King *James*, was attended with a cross Fortune; but he did not succumb under it, and by surprizing steps which our Posterity will hardly believe, he raised himself to the high Station of his Ancestors, and even with a greater distinction, in which he has maintained himself with an unparallel'd Prudence, and the Reputation of a Brave, Wise and Generous Prince. He was no sooner Crowned *King* of *England*, but the Imperial Crown of *Great Britain* shined with its ancient Lustre, which the two last Reigns had in a great measure eclipsed, and were so happy as to be Governed by a Prince, of whome all the Potentates of *Europe* esteem the Merit, court the Friendship, and admire the Heroical Virtues, and in whome all the designs a foot for vindicating the Liberty of *Europe* do center. *James* comes very short of that Character, his Plots have made him more famous than his Courage, and the hand he had in the late Conspiracy to assassinate his Majesty, is a sufficient answer to the false Eulogy, contained in this Manifesto. I don't raise a false Accusation against him; the Depositions of Captain *Harris* are still upon Record This was not the first time he was privy to so Execrable a Design. It appeared in the Tryal of the Chevalier *Grandval* in *Flanders*, that King *James* had incouraged that intended Assassination, for which *Grandval* suffered; so that notwithstanding the flatteries of this Courtier, the World will always make a great difference between a Prince who employs and countenances Villains to Assassinate his Enemies, and another, who abhorring all those base ways, encounters his Enemies in open Field at the head of his Forces. The Character of the last is that of an Hero, but that of the former wants a name. 'Tis commonly said that Ambition is the Vice of great Souls, but when the Ambition of a Prince tends only to preserve Innocence, repress Violence, oppose Tyranny, and procure Good to Mankind, such an Ambition becomes a great Virtue, and 'tis in this Sense that we own that His Majesty was always Ambitious.

MANIFESTO.

Why then may not one expect, all that might be justly hoped for, rather from his M. than from the Prince of O? And why should we not rely rather upon the Word and Faith of a Prince who is known for a good Man, even by his Enemies, than the deceitful promises of a Man, whose Friends do confess, that he never had other rule, but his excessive Ambition.

ANSWER.

This Writer begs the Question, we have no reason to think so well of the late King, but on the contrary we are convinced that he is a Bigot, and that his Word is no More to be depended upon than that of his Brother the *French* King.

MANI-

MANIFESTO.

But 'tis impossible to hear without indignation of the Expedient, that some pretend to have found out to bring things to an Agreement, by letting the Pr. of O. *enjoy during his Life, the Dominions of his M. upon the condition, to secure after his Death the Crown to the Prince of* Wales. *As if his M. could in Conscience forsake the Justice of his Cause, and what he owes to God, his Posterity, and his Subjects, to Authorize by his Consent, and make Legal, what a Tumultary Assembly without Authority has done in favour of an Usurper, and against Religion.*

ANSWER.

This is the product of the profound Politicks of the E. of *M.* but this expedient is so rediculous in it self, that we cannot but laugh at it, and we dónot think that it deserves our indignation. The Succession of the Crown of *England* is settled on so good a bottom, that there is no need of making any alteration to it, nor of King *James*'s Approbation.

MANIFESTO.

This would subvert the Constitution of a Monarchy, which was always Heriditary, and deprive the Prince his Son of his Right to his succession, and expose him to the Inconveniencies of a Substitution injurious to his person, and make him beholden for his Elevation *to the Will and Caprichio of a Paliament, who had it been according to the Laws of the Kingdom, could have never had the Power of altering the Succession*

God Almighty has made his M. *uncapable of that Baseness, and makes him prefer the patience he gives him in his present Condition, to the happy success of those that do oppress them. He is very sensible that one must be above Thrones to deserve to Reign. He begs of God to re-ascend the Throne of his Ancestors, only for the happiness of his people, and to Contribute in what he can to that of* Europe. *And as long as he will be pleased to delay his* Restauration, *he hopes on the Mercy of him, who supports him on one side, when he tryes him on the other, That if he must yet suffer, he will abide it still as a King. without wronging his Conscience, betraying Justice, for which he suffers, and without vilifying his Dignity by any base doings.*

ANSWER.

The last Parrgraphs deserve no Remarks, but we advise King *James* to reflect upon himself and his past Actions, and he will find that he is unhappy by his own faults, and that he might have Reigned with as much Glory as his Ancestors, if he had not given ear to the Treacherous Insinuations of *France*, and invaded the Properties of his Subjects, which made him odious both at home and abroad. If he had been so much concerned for the Safety of *Europe*, as his Minister would make us believe he is now, he might have prevented a fatal War, but since he did not do it when it was in his Power, one can hardly believe that even his desires in that particular are sincere.

The CONCLUSION.

HAd I been of the late King *James*'s Council, and as well affected to King *William* as I am, I could never have given an Advice more contrary to the late King's Interest; than to Publish his Manifesto, and had I been chosen to write it, I could hardly have done it worse.

For if it is possible to open the Eyes of our Protestant-Jacobites, and convince them of the late King's ill designs again our Church and our Nation, I think this Paper will do it.

In his former Declarations he observed a certain *Decorum*, and kept on a Mask which imposed

impoſed upon ſome People; his promiſes to maintain the Church of *England*, and to obſerve the Laws in ſuch a manner as to give no Subject of complaint. kept his Party alive, but now we may plainly ſee what we are to expect from him if ever he ſhould come back: He will not ſo much as own that he Acted againſt the Intereſt of our Church and the Laws of the Nation, and therfore if God was ſo far Provoked as to Puniſh us with his return, he would Act as he did before and ten times worſe, and then pretend to do no wrong to the Church by Law eſtabliſhed, nor infringe the Laws of the Land.

And it being as plain as the Noonday that he violated our Laws, and invaded the Rights of our Church; it does manifeſtly follow that he fancies that our lives and Fortunes are but the Gifts of the Crown, and at his Mercy, and that therefore when he ſhould deprive us of all, we have no Reaſon to complain.

Theſe are the great things we may expect from the late King; he was always for Arbitrary Power, and doubtleſs he has been confirmed in thoſe dangerous Principles in *France*.

Now to Crown all, he would fain by his Manifeſto ingage all the Catholick Princes in a War againſt us, make of our Nation an abſolute Conqueſt, to be thereby enabled to eſtabliſh Popery in great *Britain*, and root out of it our Religion.

Whoſoever will conſider the late King's Life, will find a continued chain of Treacherous deſigns againſt the Nation, and truly he being a biggoted Papiſt, cannot be of another temper. His blind Zeal made him conſent to allmeans whatſoever that were propoſed to advance Popery in *England*, and the moſt Sacred thing amongſt us; I mean an Oath, is not a ſufficient Barrier to a Man of his Principles, who doubtleſs thinks that Faith is not to be kept to *Hereticks*, and that the Pope may abſolve from any ſuch Obligations; his conduct ſince his Acceſſion to the Throne has proved that theſe are his Principles. In his firſt Speech to the Council, he ſaid, *That he ſhould always take care to ſupport and defend the Church of* England, *and that he knew that the Laws of* England *were ſufficient to make the King as great a Monarch as he could wiſh, and therefore he would maintain them.* He Swore the ſame thing at his Coronation; and yet in leſs than four Years time he had carried his deſigns with ſo much Vigour and Diligence, that had not his preſent Majeſty undertook our Deliverance, we were utterly undone.

This is meer matter of Fact; How is it poſſible then that any Perſon who pretend to be a Proteſtant and *Engliſh* Man, can labour for his return? What ſecurity have they that he has changed his Principles? They uſed to anſwer that the Adverſity he has been under for theſe eight Years, convinced him of his miſtakes, and that he would henceforth be contented with profeſſing his Religion, and enjoying the Prerogatives of the Crown, without forcing Popery upon us, and invading our juſt Rights and Properties: But what have they to ſay to this Manifeſto? For if King *James* did own his incroachments upon our Laws and our Religion, and promis'd to do ſo no more for the future, this would be ſomething, but he is ſo far from making any ſuch Confeſſion, that he pretends to have done no wrong to our Church, nor violated our Laws; What then ſhall we conclude from thence, but that he is the ſame as he was, that is to ſay, an Enemy to our Religion and Liberty?

His Cauſe is ſays he, the Cauſe of the Catholick Religion, and as it is the Intereſt of *Rome* to have this Kingdom ſubmitted to the Pope, and our Religion rooted out of it, it is alſo the common Intereſt of all *Engliſh* Proteſtants to keep out ſo dangerous an Enemy as King *James*: And who is but a Slave to his Prieſts 'Tis hoped that his deſign of Imbroiling *Europe* into a War for Religion, will be received in *England* with as much Indignation as Beyond-Sea, where both Proteſtants and Papiſts Exclaim

claim against him; the Protestants for his ill Intention against them and the Catholick Princes, or at least their Ministers at the *Hague*, by a just Resentment of the Scurrilous Language wherewith they are Treated.

It a great argument of King *James*'s Weakness to pretend to succeed in his design: For tho one would suppose that it is not impossible that the Princes of *Europe* should enter into a War upon account of Religion, yet methinks, 'tis very rediculous to suppose, that they may fall out upon so slight an Occasion as the late King, the Catholick Princes, have not so much esteem for him, and they are too wise to be impos'd upon by the Sophisms of his Manifesto, and believe that his Cause is the Cause of their Religion, tho' it be so often Repeated in the Paper we have answered.

But after all, the Protestants of *Europe* have little to fear, for if ever things should come to that Extremity, as to produce a War upon account of Religion, which God forbid, it should, fall very hard upon the Papists.

The World was already convinced of the great concern of His Majesty for the Protestants Interest, and therefore he had no need of King *James*'s Testimony, but notwithstanding the Zeal he has for his Religion, the Catholick Princes will clear him from the false Accusations contained in this Manifesto, of his being a Persecutor.

The Reader is desired to excuse some hard Expressions, and consider that when one sees Truth, his Religion, and his Prince so much abused as they are here; 'tis hardly possible to have any Moderation.

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